

MEMOIRS

OF THE HOUSE OF

BRANDENBURG.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,

WRITTEN BY ———

AND READ

By M. *Darget*, Privy-Counsellor to His present
MAJESTY, in the General Assembly of the
Royal Academy of Sciences and *Belles Lettres*
at *Berlin*.

In the Presence

Of Their Royal Highnesses, the PRINCES, Brothers of
the KING, and the Princess AMELIA, his Sister.

To which is added,

The Answer of M. *de MAUPERTUIS*, President of
that Academy.



L O N D O N :

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M. E. M. O. I. S.
OF THE HISTORY OF
BRITAIN



the world...
of hearing of them and though the...
Pangloss well...
I should not...
could



To HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS the
Prince of WALES.
S I R,



OUR Royal Highness's distinguished Taste for polite Literature, and known Inclination to encourage Productions for the Benefit and Instruction of Mankind, have induced me to hope, that your Royal Highness will vouchsafe to honour with your gracious Protection this excellent Piece, of which I have undertaken a Translation ; especially as it is wrote by a Masterly Hand, and contains authentic Memoirs of a very ancient Family of the *German Empire*, strictly allied to the illustrious House of *Brunswick*, by the Ties of Blood, and by the Bonds of Friendship and mutual Interest. Those who, like your Royal Highness, adorn the highest Stations with the most eminent Virtues, are always subjected to the Inconveniencies of hearing of them, and though the Authors of Panegyrick well know the Pain it gives to a delicate and generous Mind, they hope to be excused,

DEDICATION.

cused, since Silence on such Occasions becomes criminal and injurious to the Interests of Virtue. But whatever Room your Royal Highness's Conduct may afford for Praise, I know my own Abilities too well to attempt it. This must be the Subject of many Volumes, when future Historians shall write Memoirs of the illustrious House of *Brunswick*, and the Annals of *Great-Britain* be adorned with the Life of **FREDERIC THE MAGNANIMOUS**. I cannot however, forbear owning, that your Royal Highness's remarkable Benevolence and Humanity, those great Ornaments of human Nature, and which have so happily endeared you to a grateful People, were amongst those Motives, which encouraged me to hope for your Royal Highness's Pardon, for having taken this Opportunity of assuring you with what respectful Attachment I am,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

London, Nov.

1748.

The TRANSLATOR.



THE
P R E F A C E
OF THE
T R A N S L A T O R .

WE have omitted the Name of the illustrious Author in the Title Page of these Memoirs ; the Dignity of Style, Purity of Expression, and many Particulars in them plainly discovering their Origin. No Reader need be told, that the Book of *Psalms*, that of *Proverbs*, the Commentaries ascribed to *Julius Cæsar*, the Books given to *Marcus Antoninus*, those published under the Name of *James I.* of *England*, that reputed to have been penned by his Son *Charles I.* and the *Anti-Machiavel*, are the Works of Emperors or of Kings. He may readily perceive, that those Writings could not have been the Productions of less dignified Personages, how different a Judgment soever he may make of the Talents of those several introned Writers, who from the Benevolence of their Nature, have thus, at different Times, quitted the Sweets of Royalty, and vouchsafed to instruct Mankind by their excellent Labours.

It

The PREFACE

It is singularly agreeable too, that in Writers of high Rank, we never observe the least Grain of Self-Love, or any Thirst after Fame, though the Goddess seldom fails to crown their Temples with never-fading Laurel; whereas Vanity and Pursuit of Renown, so prevailing in those of the lower Class, disgust the Reader, and at most produce only the Applause of the Ignorant, who may perhaps in the Folly of their Hearts adorn the Heads of such Authors with Ivy, but which, being thus placed in an improper Soil, soon withers and dies.

It seems to be with the Productions of these two Sets of Writers, as it is with Fruits; those which we gather from warm rich Soils, give Pleasure to the Palate by their delicious Flavour, and afford by their ripened Juices Nourishment to the Body; whereas those, that have grown in cold poor Ground, offend the Taste by their Sourness, and by their Crudity produce Flatulency, which goes off by Eructation.

It hath often been remarked, that Authors by Profession have in Aversion the occasional Performances of those of great Rank, whom they seem to regard as Intruders in a Province belonging to themselves in *Propriety*. I have known some of this Brotherhood, who, when asked the Opinion of the Work of a great Author, have answered, with a disdainful Toss of the Head: *He writes well enough for a ———*. It is not improbable too, that this Brotherhood may, from Prejudice of Education, have embraced an Opinion, contrary to that of *Horace*, who says somewhere:

*Nulla manere diu, neque vivere carmina possunt
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.*

But

of the TRANSLATOR.

But agreeable enough with the following Maxim of a less elegant Writer, and ancient Member of their Body :

Impletus venter non vult studere libenter.

There is likewise recorded in their Annals, with great Honour to the Author, the Opinion of a late Critick, who maintained to the last Hour of his Life, that *Bavius* and *Mevius*, of neither of whose Works one Line, that I remember, reached his Time, were the greatest Writers of the Age they lived in, and that the Character handed down by *Horace* of their Labours, proceeded from Envy of their superior Merit.

But not to divert the Reader any longer from the Matter before him, I shall only add, that I doubt not, but he will agree with *M. de Maupertuis*, that *the Manner in which this Piece is written, does Honour to our Age*, and pronounce it a Master-Piece in its Kind.



THE

The AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

NOTHING should give so great a Distast of writing as the Multitude of Books with which *Europe* is overrun; the Abuse of the ingenious Art of Printing eternizes our Follies, and will furnish to Posterity severe Judgments upon the Triflingness of our Works. It seems in Effect, that we have exhausted all Matters from the Cedar to the Hyssop. Perhaps three hundred, perhaps even a thousand Authors have written Memoirs and Fragments of the History of *France*. There is not any small Republick, of which a large History has not been compos'd. Honour has been even done to Insects, by consecrating to them eight Volumes in 4to*, the Binding of which serves at least for Ornament in the Libraries of the Curious. From Scandal politely written, up to the grossest Invectives, ample Collections are made, furnished by those literary Quarrels which Envy stirs up among the Learned; and it must be own'd, that our Age is very laudable for employing itself so laboriously for the Instruction of Mankind! Would not one say, that a Man who makes such Reflections will never write? Nevertheless this Fury, this epidemical Distemper hath made him write a Book. Let us always distrust ourselves, we are the Sophists of our Passions! An evil Genius or some Demon hath put it in my Head, that the History of the House of *Brandenburg* had never been written. Behold the Enthusiasm which seizes on my Imagination. I desire, and obtain Leave to instruct myself in the Royal Archives; my Enquiries furnish me with other Help, and I become an Author in Spite of myself. The Collection in the Cabinet making me sedentary, a Friend of mine asked me the Reason of this Retirement, and press'd me so hard, that I was oblig'd to own it. He read this Essay, and forced me to offer it to the Royal Academy of Sciences.

I can warrant the Authenticity of the Facts related in this little Work. The Archives, the Chronicles, and some Authors that have written on these Subjects, are the Springs from which I have drawn them. There should have been a more able Architect to make Use of these Materials, and a Judge less inclin'd to the Encouragement of those that labour for the Sciences, than *M. de Maupertuis*. It is for the Reader to judge of my Work; Self-love does not blind me enough to persuade me, that I make him a good Present.

* Written by *M. de Reamur*.



MEMOIRS

OF THE HOUSE OF

BRANDENBURG.

THE House of *Brandenburg*, or rather that of *Hobenzollern*, is so ancient, that its Origin loses itself in the Darkneſs of Antiquity. I could relate only Fables or Conjectures on its Extraction; but Fables ought not to be preſented to the judicious and clear-ſighted Publick of this Age. It concerns little, that Genealogiſts make this Houſe deſcend from the *Colonnas*, and by a groſs Blunder, confound the Sceptre in the Arms of the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, with the Column which this *Italian* Family bears in its Eſcutcheon; nor does it concern, that we make the Counts of *Hobenzollern* deſcend from *Witiking*, the *Guelphs*, or any other Stem; Men, it ſeems to me, are all of a Race equally ancient. After all, the Enquiries of a Genealogiſt, and the Occupation of learned Men, who labour on the Etymology of Words, are ſo ſlender Objects, that even for this Reaſon they are not worthy to employ thinking
B Heads;

Heads; there must be remarkable Facts, and Things capable to fix the Attention of reasonable People.

I shall not therefore amuse myself in Enquiries so trifling as well as useless.

Tassilo is the first Count of *Hohenzollern* known in History; he lived near the Year 800. His Descendants were *Danco*, *Rudolph I.* *Otho*, *Wolfgang*, *Frederic I.* *Frederic II.* *Frederic III.* *Burchardt*, *Frederic IV.* *Rudolph II.* whose obscure Lives are not known. *Conrad*, who lived about the Year 1200, is the first Burggrave of *Nuremberg*, History makes mention of. His Successors were *Frederic I.* in the Year 1216, *Conrad II.* in the Year 1260, *Frederic II.* in the Year 1270. We find, that *Frederic III.* inherited from his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Meran*, the Lordships of *Boreuth* and *Cadelsburg*; *John I.* succeeded him in 1298, and to him *Frederic IV.* in the Year 1332.

This Burggrave did important Services to the Emperors *Albert*, *Henry VII.* and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, in their War against *Frederic* of *Austria*. The Burggrave beat the Arch-Duke, took him Prisoner, and gave him up to the Emperor, and that Prince, in return, made a Present to the Burggrave of all the Prisoners he had taken upon the *Austrians*. *Frederic IV.* released them, on Condition that they should yield him Homage of their Lands, and this is the Origin of the Vassals, which the Marggraves of *Franconia* still have in *Austria*.

The Successors of *Frederic IV.* were *Conrad IV.* in the Year 1334, *John II.* in 1357, *Albert VI.* surnamed the Beautiful, in 1361, and

and the Nephew of *Albert*, *Frederic V.* whom the Emperor *Charles IV.* declared Prince of the Empire in 1363, at the Diet of *Nuremberg*, and likewise named his Lieutenant.

Frederic V. divided in the Year 1420, the Lands of his *Burggraviate* between his two Sons *John III.* and *Frederic VI.* *John III.* died without Children; thus the whole paternal Succession fell to *Frederic VI.*

This Prince entered in 1408 with his Troops, the Territories of the City of *Rothweil*, which was put to the Ban of the Empire, and razed several Castles. In the Year 1410 he took Possession of the Government of the *Marck*, which the Emperor *Sigismund* had given him.

The last Electors of *Brandenburg* not having resided in the *Marck*, the Nobility took Advantage thereof; they were independent, mutinous and seditious. The new Governor leagued himself with the Dukes of *Pomerania*, and gave a bloody Battle to the Rebels near *Zossen*; he was compleatly victorious, and razed some of the Forts, which served them for Retreat, but he could not entirely subdue the Family of *Quitrow*, till after having taken from them 24 Castles, which were in a State of Defence.

We are now arrived at the fine Epoch of the House of *Hobenzollern*, but as we see it transplanted into a new Country, it is proper to give an Idea of the Origin and the Government of *Brandenburg*.

The Countries which then composed the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, were the *Old Marck*, the *Middle*, the *New*, the *Ucker-Marck*,

the *Prignitz*, the County of *Rupin*, *Crossen*, *Cotbus*, *Befekau* and *Storkau*. The Word Marggraviate originally signifies Government of Frontiers.

The *Romans* first established Governors in the Countries, which they had conquered upon the *Suevi*. It is remarked however, that they never passed the *Elbe*. It seems, that the fierce and warlike Character of those People, according to *Tacitus*, hindered them from subduing them; the *Suevi* as well as the *Romans* were afterwards driven out by the *Vandals*, the *Hennetti*, the *Saxons* and the *Franks*, and *Charlemagne* had much Difficulty ^b to subdue them ^b. It was but in the Year 927, that the Emperor *Henry* the Fowler, established Marggraves in those Countries, to bridle those People inclined to Revolt, and Neighbours, whose wandering Valour exercised itself by Incursions and Ravages. ^c *Siegfried* ^c, Brother-in-law of the Emperor *Henry* the Fowler, was, according to *Enzelt*, the first Marggrave of *Brandenburg*. It was under his Administration, that the Bishopricks of *Brandenburg*, *Misnia*, *Camin* and *Havelberg* were founded. It was the Emperor *Otto*, who founded that of *Magdeburg*.

Six different Races of Marggraves of *Brandenburg* are counted from *Siegfried* to our Days, to wit, that of the *Saxons*, of the Counts of *Stade*, of the House of *Anhalt*, of *Bavaria*, of *Luxemburg* ^d, and lastly that of *Hobenzollern*, which actually subsists.

^d or Lutzelburg.

During these first Races, a King of the *Vandals* named *Mistevojus* entirely ravaged the *Marcks* and drove out the Governors.

The

The Emperor *Henry II.* reconquered this Country anew, the *Barbarians* were beaten, and *Mistevojus* perished there with 6000 of his People. The Margraves were not quiet enough to try to be re-established, they had Wars to maintain against the *Vandals* and other barbarous Nations, and sometimes beaten and sometimes beating, their Power was not settled till under *Albert the Bear*, the first of the *Anbaltine* Race, and who was the Third of the Marggraves. The Emperors *Conrad III.* and *Frederic Barbarossa* raised him, one to the Margraviate, and the last to the Electoral Dignity. *Primislaus*, Prince of the *Vandals*, who had no Children, took such a Friendship to *Albert the Bear*, that he bequeathed to him by his Will the *Middle-Marck*. This Elector possessed then the *Old* and *Middle-Marck*, the *Upper-Saxony*, the Country of *Anbalt*, and a part of *Lusatia*. There is an infinite Obscurity in the Archives, and in History, upon the Princes of the *Anbaltine* Race. We know, that this Line became extinct in 1332, by the Death of *Waldemar II.* The Emperor *Lewis of Bavaria*, who reigned then, looking on the *Marck* as a Fief devolved to the Empire, gave it to his Son *Lewis*, who was the first of the fourth Race. This Elector had three Wars to support, one with the Dukes of *Pomerania*, who invaded the *Ucker-Marck*, another with the *Poles*, who ravaged the County of *Sternberg*, and the third against an Impostor, who taking the Name of *Waldemar*, Brother of the last Elector of the *Anbaltine* House, got a Party and took some Towns,

• About
the Year
1000.

† in 1142.

Towns, but was at length defeated. This Sham *Waldemar* was the Son of a Miller of *Belitz*.

^a *This Sur-* *Lewis the Roman* ^z succeeded his Brother, name was and as he likewise died without Children, given him his third Brother *Otho* succeeded him. This because he Prince was so pusillanimous, that after the was born Death of the Emperor his Father, he sold at Rome. the Electorate ^h for 200,000 golden Florins ^h in 1370. to the Emperor *Charles IV.* of the House of *Luxemburg* ⁱ, who did not even pay him this small Sum. *Charles IV.* gave the *Marck* to his Son *Wenceslaus*, who had a Mind to incorporate it with *Bobemia*, of which he was King.

ⁱ or Lut-
zelburg. *Sigismund*, the third Elector of the House of *Luxemburg* ^k, having need of Money, sold the *New-Marck* to the *Teutonic Order* in 1402. That Order had already possessed this Province, they had conquered it from the Elector *John*; *Otho the Long*, repurchased it, and *Sigismund* of *Luxemburg* ⁱ alienated it anew. The Elector *Jodocus* of the same House, poisoned his Brother *Procopius*. He reigned 24 Years, but as he aspired at the Empire, he sold the whole Electorate for 400,000 Florins to *William Duke of Misnia*. This Duke possessed the *Marck* but during one Year, after which the Emperor *Sigismund* repurchased it.

This singular Custom of buying and selling States, which was so much in Fashion in that Age, proves very certainly the Barbarousness of these Times, and the miserable State these Provinces were in, who were sold at so low a Price. The Emperor
Sigismund

Sigismund established *Frederic VI.* Burggrave of *Nuremberg*, Governor or Marggrave of *Brandenburg*, and this is the Prince, whose History we are going to write.

FREDERIC I.

IT was in the Year 1415, that the Emperor conferred the Electoral Dignity, and the Charge of Arch-Chamberlain of the Holy Roman Empire on *Frederic VI.* and made him a Donation as Propriety of the Country of *Brandenburg*. *Frederic I.* received the Investiture from the Hands of his Benefactor at the Diet of *Constance*, in the Year 1417. He enjoyed then the *Old* and the *Middle-Marck*. The Dukes of *Pomerania* had usurped the *Ucker-Marck*, the Elector made War upon them, beat them at *Angermünde*, and reunited to the *Marck* a Province, which had been incorporated with it from Time immemorial.

The *New-Marck* was still engaged to the *Teutonic* Order as hath been said above; but the Elector, who extended the Views of his Aggrandizement, took *Saxony*, the Electorate of which was vacant by the Death of the last Elector of the *Anbaltine* Branch. The Emperor, who did not approve this Acquisition, gave the Investiture to the Duke of *Misnia*, and *Frederic I.* voluntarily desisted from his Rights.

The Elector made a Partition of his States by his Will. His eldest Son, surnamed the *Alchymist*, lost the Electorate by applying too much to the Search of the Philosopher's Stone,

Stone, he had the *Voigtland*; his second Son *Frederic* had the Electorate; *Albert*, surnamed *Achilles*, had the Duchies of *Franconia*, and *Frederic*, surnamed the *Gross*, had the *Old-Marck*; but the Death of *Frederic the Gross*, reunited this Province to the Electorate of *Brandenburg*. That natural Equity, which wills that a Father make an equal Partition amongst his Children, was still followed in those remote Times. It was found afterwards, that that which made the Fortune of the younger Children became the Source of the Decline of Houses. We shall nevertheless see in this History still some Instances of like Partitions. *Frederic* died 1440.

FREDERIC II. surnamed Iron-Tooth.

FREDERIC II. was surnamed *Iron-Tooth* by reason of his Strength. He should have been called the *Magnanimous*, because he refused the Crown of *Bobemia*, which the Pope offered him to despoil of it *George Podiebrad*, and that offered him by the *Poles*, which he declared he would not accept, but on the Refusal of *Casimir*, Brother of the last King *Ladislav*. The Greatness of Soul of this Elector got him the Confidence of Nations; the States of the *Lower-Lusatia* submitted to him by Inclination. *Lusatia* was a Fief of *Bobemia*. *George Podiebrad* forgetting the Return, he owed to *Frederic II.* brought the War into *Lusatia* and into the *Marck*. These two Princes made in 1462. a Treaty at *Guben*^m, by which *Cotbus*, *Peitz*, *Sommerfeld*, *Boberberg*, *Storckau* and *Besekau* were

were yielded in Propriety to the Elector, by the Crown of *Bohemia*. The Elector, who would not make unjust Acquisitions, understood very well to avail himself of his lawful Rights; he redeemed ^a the *New-ⁿ* in the *Marck* of the *Teutonic* Order, to whom, as *Year* I have already said, it had been engaged. ^{1445. for 100,000 Golden Florins.} In 1464, *Otto* III. last Duke of *Stettin* died, and the Elector entered in War with the Duke of *Wolgast*. The Reason was, that *Lewis* of *Bavaria* Elector of *Brandenburg*, had made a Treaty in 1338 with the Dukes of *Pomerania*, that if their Line should come to be extinct, *Pomerania* should return to the Electorate. This Treaty had been confirmed by the Emperor. That Difference was terminated by an Agreement ^o, accord^d ^{in 1464.} ing to which the Duke of *Wolgast* rested, in Truth, in Possession of the Duchy of *Stettin*, but he became Feudatory of the Elector, and *Pomerania* yielded him eventual Homage. *Frederic* II. reunited, as a vacant Fief, the County of *Wernigerode* ^p to ^p in 1465. the *Marck*, and he took the Titles of Duke of *Pomerania*, of *Mecklenburg*, of *Vandalia*, of *Schwerin* and of *Rostock*, upon which he had the Expectancy.

The same Spirit of Disinterestedness, which had made him refuse two Crowns, made him abdicate the Electorate in the Year 1469, in Favour of his Brother *Albert*, surnamed *Achilles*; for he had no Children. This Prince, who had professed Moderation during his whole Life, not straying from these Principles, reserved to himself the small Pension of 6000 Florins, with which

he lived as a Philosopher till the Year 1471, when he died oppressed with Infirmities.

ALBERT, *surnamed Achilles.*

ALBERT was surnamed *Achilles* and *Ulysses* by Reason of his Valour; he was 57 Years of Age when his Brother yielded to him the Regency¹. His finest Actions had passed whilst he was only Burggrave of Nuremberg. As Marggrave of *Bareuth* and of *Anspach* he made War upon *Lewis the Bearded*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and even took him Prisoner. He gained eight Battles against the *Nurembergers*, who had revolted and disputed to him the Rights of Burggraviate: He took a Standard from a Guidon of that City at the Hazard of his Life, fighting alone against 16 Men, till the Assistance of his own People arrived to him. He seized upon the City of *Greiffenberg* as *Alexander* of the Capital of the *Oxidracks*, leaping himself alone from the Top of the Walls into the City, where he fought till his Troops, having forced the Gates, came to succour him. *Albert* governed almost the whole Empire by the Confidence, which the Emperor *Frederic III.* shewed him. He conducted the Imperial Armies against *Lewis the Rich*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and against *Charles the Bold*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who had besieged *Nuys*²; and *Albert* disposed that Prince to Peace. He gained the Prize in 17 Tournaments and was never unsaddled,

¹ The City of Nuys is in the Electoralate of Cologne.

The Use of these Combats seems to be originally *French*. Perhaps the *Moors*, who over-run *Spain*, established it in that Country with their *Romantick Gallantry*. We find in the History of *France*, that a certain *Godfrey de Preuilly*, who lived in the Year 1060, was the Renewer of these Turnaments. Nevertheless *Charles the Bald*, who lived in the Year 844, had already held them at *Strasburg*, when his Brother *Lewis* of *Germany* came there to see him. This Fashion passed into *England* in the Year 1114, and *Richard* King of *Great Britain* (*England*) established it in the Year 1194. *John Catacuzene* says, that at the Marriage of *Anne* of *Savoy* with *Andronicus Paleologus*, *Greek* Emperor, these Combats, the Use of which came from the *Gauls*, were celebrated. It happened often, that People perished, when these Combats were pushed to Extremity. We read in *Henry Cnigston*, that a Turnament was held at *Cbalons* on Occasion of an Interview between the Court of the King of *England* *Edward*, and that of the Duke of *Cbalons*, in which a great many *Burgundian* and *English* Knights were killed upon the Spot. Turnaments passed into *Germany* in the Year 1136. Letters of Defiance were used to be sent, to bring together the Champions of these Combats. They imported nearly, that such a Prince, weary of unmanly Sloth, desired the Combat, to give Exercise to his Valour, and to signalize his Address. They marked the Time, the Number of Knights, the Kind of Arms, and

in 1226.

in 1274.

the Place, where the Turnament was to be held, and enjoined the conquered Knights to give to the Knights Conquerors a Bracelet of Gold, and a Bracelet of Silver to their Esquires. The Popes rose up against these fatal Diversions. ^u 1140. *Innocent II.* ^v and after *Eugenius III.* at the Council of *Lateran* ^w 1315. fulminated Anathemas, and pronounced Excommunication against those, who should assist at these Combats; but in Spite of the Superstition of these Times, the Popes could not prevail against this fatal Custom, to which an untoward Point of Honour gave Vogue, and which the Roughness of Manners made serve for a Sight, Amusement, and Occupations proportioned to the Barbarousness of the Ages, in which they sprang up. For, since these Excommunications, History makes Mention of a Turnament of *Charles VI.* King of *France*, which ^x in 1385. was held at *Cambray* ^x, of that of *Francis I.* ^y in 1520. which was held between *Ardres* and *Guines* ^y, ^z in 1559. and of that of *Paris* ^z, where *Henry II.* received a Wound in the Eye by the Stroke of a Lance of the Count of *Montgomery*, of which that King died 11 Days after.

We see then, that it was a great Merit at that Time in *Albert Achilles*, that he had gained the Prize in 17 Turnaments, and that in these rough Ages, Address of Body was held in the same Esteem, as it was held in the Time of *Homer*. Our Age more enlightened does not grant its Esteem, but to the Talents of the Mind, and to those Virtues, which, raising Man almost above his Condition, make him trample under Foot his Passions,

Passions, and render him beneficent, generous and helpful.

Albert Achilles reunited then his Possessions of *Franconia* to the Electorate, by the Abdication of his Brother *. After having ^{in 1470.} taken the Regency, he made a Treaty of Confraternity in the Year 1473, with the Houses of *Saxony* and of *Hesse*, which settled among them the Succession of their States, in case that one of their Lines should come to be extinct. In 1473 he disposed of his own Succession among his Sons; the Electorate fell to the Share of *John* called *the Cicero*, the second of his Sons had *Bareuth*, and the younger *Anspach*. *Albert* abdicated at length the Electorate in 1476, in Favour of *John Cicero*. His Daughter *Barbe*, who married *Henry Duke of Glogaw* and of *Crossen*, made this last Duchy pass to the House of *Brandenburg*; her Contract of Marriage bore, that in Case the Duke *Henry* should die without Children, the Elector should have the Right to raise annually 50,000 Ducats on the Duchy of *Crossen*. The Case happened; *John Cicero* put himself in Possession of the City of *Crossen*, and maintained that Acquisition. The third Son of *Albert Achilles*, *Frederic the Gross*, Marggrave of *Anspach*, was the Grandfather of that *Albert Frederic*, who received the Duchy of *Lägerndorff* of the King of *Bohemia*. It is not useless, to relate on this Occasion, that this Duke *George of Anspach* and *Lägerndorff* made a Contract with the Dukes of *Oppelen* and of *Ratibor*, by which those who survived, inherited from those who died

died without Children. These two Dukes left no Issue, and George inherited the Succession of these Duchies. Afterwards Ferdinand Brother of Charles V. and Heir of the Kingdom of Bohemia, despoiled the Marggrave George of Oppelen and of Ratibor, and promised him for Indemnification a Sum of 130,000 Florins, which was never paid.

b in 1476.

JOHN the Cicero.

THE Surname of Cicero was given him by reason of his natural Eloquence. He reconciled three Kings, who disputed among themselves Silesia, to wit, Ladislaus of Bohemia, Casimir of Poland, and Matthias of Hungary. John Cicero and the Elector of Saxony entered Silesia at the Head of 6000 Horse, and declared themselves Enemies to him of the Kings, that should refuse to give Ear to the Words of Peace, which they proposed to him. His Eloquence, by what the Annals say of him, mediated an Agreement between these Princes, by which Silesia and Lusatia were divided between the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary. I should have been glad, that other Instances had been related of the Eloquence of this Prince, for in this, the 6000 Horse seem the strongest Argument. A Prince, who can decide Strifes by Force of Arms, is always a great Logician; he is a Hercules that persuades by Blows of the Club.

John Cicero had a War to maintain against the Duke of Sagan, who formed Pretensions upon

upon the Dutchy of *Crossen*; the Elector beat him near that City, and even made him Prisoner. We may judge of the Manners of this Time by *John* Duke of *Sagan*, who had the Cruelty to let die of Hunger his Brother, with whom he was at Variance. *John Cicero* died in the Year 1499. He left two Sons, of whom *Joachim* succeeded him in the Electorate, and the second, named *Albert*, became Elector of *Mayence*, and Arch-Bishop of *Magdeburg*.

JOACHIM I. surnamed Nestor.

HE received the Surname of *Nestor* as *Lewis XIII.* that of Just, that is to say, without our penetrating the Reason. *Joachim* was but 16 Years of Age, when he became Elector. The County of *Rupin* being become vacant by the Death of *Wichman*, Count of *Lindau*, the Elector re-united that Fief to the *Marck*. He died in 1532, leaving two Sons, to wit, *Joachim*, who succeeded him, and the Marggrave *John*, to whom he bequeathed the *New-Marck*, *Crossen*, *Sternberg*, and *Storckau*.

JOACHIM II.

IT appears, that in the Time of *Joachim II.* they left off the Abuse of giving Surnames to Princes. That of his Father had succeeded so ill, that it was become rather a Nick-Name than a Name of Renown. The Flattery of Courtiers, which had exhausted the

the Comparisons of Antiquity, turned about without doubt to another Side, and it is to be believed, that the Self-love of Princes lost nothing thereby.

Joachim II. inherited the Electorate of his Father, as we have just now said; he embraced the Doctrine of *Luther* in 1539. The Circumstances are not known, which gave Place to this Change; that which is certain in it is, that his Courtiers and the Bishop of *Brandenburg* followed his Example.

A new Religion, that appears all of a sudden in the World, that divides *Europe*, changes the Order of Possessions, and gives Occasion to new political Combinations, deserves that we give some Moments to consider the Progress, and especially by what Vertue it produced the sudden Conversion of the greatest States.

In the Year 1400, *John Huss* began to preach his new Doctrine in *Bobemia*; these were properly the Sentiments of the *Vaudois* and of *Wiclef*, to which he adhered. *Huss* was burned at the Council of *Constance*. His pretended Martyrdom increased the Zeal of his Disciples; the *Bobemians*, who were too heavy to enter into the Sophistical Disputes of Divines, embraced this new Religion only from a Spirit of Independence and of Mutiny, which is sufficiently the Character of that Nation. These new Converts shook off the Yoke of the Pope, and made Use of the Liberty of their Consciences to cover the Crimes of their Revolt. As long as a certain *Ziska* was their Chief, this Party was formidable.

^c In the
Year

1415. un-
der Pope
John
XXIII.

formidable. *Zifka* gained some Victories over the Troops of *Wenceslaus* and of *Ottocarus*, Kings of *Bobemia*; but after his Death the *Hussites* were in part driven out of that Kingdom, and we do not see, that the Doctrine of *John Hufs* extended beyond *Bobemia*.

Ignorance was come to its Height in the 14th and 15th Centuries, the Ecclesiasticks were not even enough instructed to be Pedants. The Looseness of Manners, and the licentious Life of the *Monks*, made all *Europe* demand with one Voice the Reformation of so great Abuse. The Popes abused even their Power to a Degree, that was no longer tolerable. *Leo X.* made in *Chriftenendom* a Commerce of Indulgences, to amass Sums, of which he had need to build the Basilick of *St. Peter* at *Rome*. It is pretended, that this Pope made a Present to his Sister *Cibo* of the Produce of those, which should be sold in *Saxony*. This casual Revenue was farmed, and these foreign Farmers, willing to enrich themselves, chose *Monks* and Gatherers proper to pick up the greatest Sums, and the Commissaries of these Indulgencies dissipated a Part by scandalous Disorders. An Inquisitor named *Tetzel*, and some *Dominicans* were those, who acquitting themselves so ill of that Commission, gave Place to the Reformation; for the Vicar-General of the *Augustines*, named *Staupitz*, whose Order had been in Possession of this Commerce, ordered one of his *Monks*, named *Luther*, to preach against the Indulgences. From the Year 1516, *Luther* had already combated the

Scholasticks; he stood up at that Time with greater Force against these Abuses; he advanced other doubtful Propositions; afterwards he maintained them by fortifying them with new Proofs. He was at length excommu-

^a In 1520. nicated by the Pope^a. He had tasted the Pleasure of speaking his Sentiments without Constraint; he gave himself up to it afterwards without Reserve; he renounced the Habit, and married *Catherine of Bobren*^c, having got into his Party a great many Princes, for whom the Spoil of Ecclesiastical Estates was a sweet Lure. The Elector of *Saxony* was the first that embraced his new Sect. The *Palatinate*, *Hesse*, the Country of *Hanover*, *Brandenburg*, *Suabia*, a Part of *Austria*, of *Bobemia*, of *Hungary*, all *Silesia*, and the North received this new Religion. The *Dogms* are so well known, that I conceive myself dispensed from relating them.

^e In 1533. A little Time after ^f *Calvin* appeared in *France*. A *German* named *Wolmar*, who was a *Lutheran*, had inspired his Sentiments into *Calvin*, with whom he had made Acquaintance at *Bourges*. In Spite of the Protection, which *Margaret of Navarre* granted to this new *Dogm*, *Calvin* was obliged to quit *France* at different Periods. *Poitiers* was the Place, where he made most *Profelytes*. This *Convertor*, who understood the Genius of his Nation, knew that it was rather persuaded by Songs, than by Arguments, and he composed

^g See the a Ballad, the Burthen of which was, O! Dictionary Monks! O! Monks! you must be married^g. of *Moreri*, which had an astonishing Success. *Calvin* re-
the Article tired
Calvin.

tired to *Basil*, where he caused his Institutes to be printed; he converted afterwards the Dutchess of *Ferrara*, Daughter of *Lewis XII.* In 1536, he compleated the bringing over the *Genevians* to his Sentiments, and he caused *Michael Servetus*, who was his Enemy, to be burned. Although the reformed Religion was not intirely tolerated in *France*, the Wars, to which it gave Place, threatened to overturn that Kingdom. *Henry VIII.* established this Cult in *England*; *Leo X.* had given him the Title of Defender of the Faith, because he had wrote against *Luther*; but when he became in Love with *Anne Bullen*, he would have his Marriage dissolved with *Catherine of Arragon*, which he executed of his own Authority. *Clement VII.* who succeeded *Leo X.* excommunicated him imprudently for having married *Anne Bullen*; and in the Year 1533 *Henry VIII.* shook off the Yoke of the Pope, and declared himself Chief of the *English Church*. If then we will reduce the Causes of the Progress of the Reformation to simple Principles, we shall see that in *Germany* it was the Work of Interest, in *England* that of Love, and in *France* that of Novelty, or perhaps of a Song. We must not believe, that *John Huss*, *Luther* or *Calvin*, were superior Geniuses. It is with the Chiefs of Sects, as with Ambassadors. Often middling Geniuses succeed in it best, provided that the Conditions which they offer be advantageous. The Ages of Ignorance were the Reign of Fanaticks and of Reformers. It seems, that the human Mind is

at length glutted with Disputes and Controversies. We leave the Divines and the Metaphysicians to argue upon the Benches of the School; and since that in the Protestant Countries, the Ecclesiasticks have no more any thing to lose, the Chiefs of new Sects are unwelcome.

The Elector *Joachim* II. gained then, by the Communion in both Kinds, the Bishopricks of *Brandenburg*, *Havelberg*, and *Lebus*, which he incorporated with the *Mark*.

^a In 1535. He did not enter into the Union ^b which the Protestant Princes made at *Smalkald*, and he maintained Tranquillity in the Electorate, whilst the War desolated *Saxony* and the neighbouring Countries. The War of Religion began in 1546, and ended by the Peace of *Passau* and of *Augsburg*. The Emperor *Charles* V. had put himself at the Head of the Catholics. The illustrious and unfortunate *John Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* the Magnanimous Landgrave of *Hesse*, were the Chiefs of the Protestants; the Emperor beat the Protestants in *Saxony* near *Mühlberg*. He and the Cardinal *Granvelle* made Use of a base Stratagem to deceive the Landgrave of *Hesse*. *Charles* V. thought himself authorized by the equivocal Phrase of a Safe-Conduct [†], to put the Landgrave in Prison, where he passed a great Part of his Life.

[†] The German Word *einige*, any, stood with other Words, which together signified, *without any Imprisonment*; the Letters *i n* were by a Stroke of the Pen so formed, that they seemed to be the Letter *w*, which made it *ewige*, eternal, and thus the Sense was *without eternal Imprisonment*.

Life. The Elector *Joachim*, who had been the Guarantee of that safe Conduct, was enraged at this Breach of Faith; he drew his Sword in his Wrath against the Duke of *Alba*¹, ^{Ambas-} ^{sador of} ^{the Empe-} but the Company parted them. *John Frederic* of Saxony was deposed. The Emperor ^{ror at Ber-} gave that Electorate to Prince *Maurice*, who^{lin.} was of the *Albertine* Line. Nevertheless *Joachim* did not conform himself to the *Interim*, which the Emperor had caused to be published.

The Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg* were charged by the Emperor to besiege *Magdeburg*; this Town surrendered after a Defence of 14 Months; the Capitulation was couched in such favourable Terms, that the Emperor was with Difficulty brought to confirm it. The Bishop of *Magdeburg* being dead, the Canons elected in his Place *FredERIC* Bishop of *Havelberg*, and second Son of the Elector *Joachim*; and after his Death, the Elector had Credit enough to make his third Son *Sigismund* succeed, who was a Protestant. It was this Elector who caused the Fortrefs of *Spandau*^k to be built. The En-^k ^{In 1555.} gineer who built it was named *Giromela*; People must have been extremely wanting in all Sorts of Arts in this Country, to have Recourse to *Italy* in the smallest Things. The Marggrave *John*, Brother of the Elector, caused *Custrin* to be fortified at the same Time. It was perhaps a Fashion then, to fortify Places; if they had had a distinct Idea of the Use, that may be made of it, Engineers would not have been wanting.

Joachim

Joachim II. got from his Brother-in-law *Sigismund August*, King of *Poland*, the Right
 In 1569. of succeeding to *Albert Frederic* of *Brandenburg* Duke of *Prussia*, in Case he died without Heirs, and he engaged himself to assist *Poland* with a certain Number of Troops, as often as she should be attacked. The Reign of this Prince was mild and peaceful; he is accused of pushing Liberality to the Point of being prodigal; he died in 1571.

JOHN GEORGE.

J O H N George inherited the same Year the Electorate from his Father *Joachim II.* and the *New-Marck* from his Uncle the Marggrave *John*; his Government was peaceful, and he has a Place here only for the Thread of the Chronological History. It is to be remarked, that one of his Wives was a Princess of *Lignitz*, named *Sophia*. The Branch of the Marggraves of *Bareuth* and of *Anspach* became extinct; he divided that Succession between his two younger Sons, of which *Christian* became the Author of the new Stem of *Bareuth*, and *Ernest* of that of *Anspach*. The Elector died in 1598.

JOACHIM FREDERIC.

J O A C H I M Frederic was 52 Years of Age
 In 1598. when he came to the Regency^m; during his Father's Life he enjoyed the Bishopricks of *Magdeburg*, *Havelberg* and *Lebus*; When he succeeded *John George*, he resigned the Arch-

Archbishoprick of *Magdeburg* in Favour of one of his Sons, named *Christian William*. He administered *Prussia* during the Madness of Duke *Albert Frederic*; he got the Succession of the Dutchy of *Jägerndorff*, which he yielded to one of his Sons named *John George*, to indemnify him for the Bishoprick of *Strasburg*, which he had been obliged to give up. In these Times Successions were often reunited, and as often divided; the bad Politicks of these Princes rendered the Pains which Fortune took for them, unprofitable and useless.

Joachim Frederic was the first Prince of the House that established a Council of State. I leave to judge what the Administration of Government must have been, Justice distributed, and the Finances managed in these rough and savage Times, where there were not even Persons appointed to take Care of these Offices!

The Elector, without doubt, perceived the Necessity there was to provide for the Education of Youth; for in this View he founded the College of *Joachimsthal*. One hundred and twenty Persons are there brought up, boarded and instructed according to the Foundation. The great Elector translated afterwards this College to *Berlin*. The Poverty of the Country, and the little Money that was stirring among its Inhabitants, were the Occasion of the sumptuary Laws, which the Elector caused to be published. He died in 1608, aged 63 Years.

• In 1608.

JOHN SIGISMUND.

JOHN *Sigismund* had married at *Konigsberg* in the Year 1594, *Anne*, only Daughter of *Albert* Duke of *Prussia*, Heir-ess of that Dutchy, and of the Succession of *Cleves*. This Succession consisted in the Countries of *Juliers*, *Berg*, *Cleves*, *Marck*, *Ravensberg* and *Ravenstein*. It was too tempting a Morfel not to excite the Avidity of all those that had Hopes to partake of it.

Before we speak of the Rights of the Electors of *Brandenburg*, and of the Dukes of *Neuburg*, it is proper to explain the Pretensions of *Saxony*, to avoid confounding Matters.

The Emperor *Maximilian* had given the Expectancy of this Succession to the Princes of the two Lines of *Saxony*, to wit, the *Ernestine* and the *Albertine*, in Default of all Heirs Male and Female of the Dukes of *Cleves*. For the Patent which the Duke of *Juliers*, *George William*, obtained of the Emperor, proves that this Fief descended to Females. *John Frederic*, last Elector of *Saxony* of the *Ernestine* House, married *Sybilla*, Daughter of *John III.* Duke of *Juliers*.

The Duke *William* of *Cleves*, Son of *John* of *Juliers*, married the Daughter of *Ferdinand*, Niece of the Emperor *Charles V.* This Marriage, joined to the Discontent which the Emperor had against *Frederic* of *Saxony*, for being one of the Members of the Union of *Smalkald*, led him to confirm to the Duke *John William* the Right, which he had to dis-

pose of his Succession in Favour of his Daughters, in Default of Heirs Male. The Son of this Duke of the same Name *John William*, died ° without Issue. Thus this Succession ° in 1609, returned to his Sisters.

The eldest, *Mary Eleonora*, had married the Duke of *Prussia*, *Albert Frederic*.

The second, *Anne*, was married to the Prince Palatine of *Neuburg*.

The third, *Magdalen*, was Wife of the Count Palatine of *Zweybrück* (*Deux Ponts*.)

The fourth, *Sybilla*, was married to a Prince of *Austria*, Count (Marggrave) of *Burgau*.

These four Princesses and their Children laid Claim to this Succession.

The House of *Saxony* added to the Right of Expectancy, the Marriage of the Elector *Frederic* with the Princess *Sybilla*, Aunt of the Deceased.

Mary Eleonora, Wife of *Albert* of *Prussia*, founded her Rights upon her Contract of Marriage, ^p which bore in express Terms, that ^{p in 1572} if her Brother should die without Children, she and her Posterity should inherit the † six Dutchies, by Vertue of the fundamental Pacts, made in the Year 1418 and 1496, by which the eldest Daughters have the Right to succeed. The Duke of *Prussia* engaged to pay 200,000 golden *Florins* to the Sisters of his Wife, to satisfy them by that Sum for all their Pretensions. If *Mary Eleonora* had been alive at the Death of her Brother, it is very probable,

† Strictly speaking, only *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Berg*, are Dutchies, *March* and *Ravensberg* being Counties, and *Ravensstein* a Lordship.

bable, that there would have been no Disputes, but being dead, her Daughter *Anne*, Wife of the Elector *John Sigismund*, came to the Rights of her Mother. That Succession then ought to fall upon its Chief, since she represented *Mary Eleonora*, and this was the Point of Contestation.

The Pretensions of *Anne*, Dutcheß of *Neuburg*, were founded on this, that her Sister *Mary Eleonora* being dead, she came to her Rights, and became of consequence the eldest of her surviving Sisters, being a nearer Relation than *Anne* of *Brandenburg*, who was Niece to the Deceased. There were only Family Pacts, and the Contract of Marriage of *Mary Eleonora* against these Reasons.

The two younger Sisters of Duke *John William* did not demand the Succession entire, they only proposed a Partition.

That which rendered entirely null the Right of these three younger Sisters, is, that they had made in their Contract of Marriage a Renunciation of all their Rights, as long as there should be Children of their elder Sister.

The Elector *John Sigismund*, and the Duke *Wolfgang William* of *Neuburg*, agreed to put themselves in Possession of the litigious Succession, reserving nevertheless their respective Rights. The Emperor *Rudolphus*, who had a Mind to take the Dutchieß of this Inheritance in Sequestration, facilitated this Agreement. The Arch-duke *Leopold* effectively made Preparations to seize upon it, but the Protestant Princes opposed him, and formed that famous Alliance, which was named the
Union,

Union, and in which *John Sigismund* entered among the First. To counter-balance the *Union*, the Catholick Princes made a like Treaty at *Würtzburg*, which was named the *League*. The Elector was favoured by the *Hollanders*, who feared the Imperial Sequestration, and the Duke of *Neuburg* by *Henry IV.* King of *France*; but whilst that Prince was preparing to assist him, he was assassinated by *Ravaillac* ^a.

^a See Sul-
ly's Me-
moirs.

The Elector had attempted an Accommodation with the Duke of *Neuburg*, but in an Interview which they had, in the Heat of Dispute *John Sigismund* gave a Box on the Ear to that Prince, which embroiled Things anew. One may judge by this Specimen, of the Politeness and of the Manners of that Time ^r. Another Accommodation was at-^t In 1611.
tempted at *Iüterbock* with the Elector of *Saxony* on the Subject of the same Succession, but without the Princes being there themselves; for Interviews were become dangerous; but the Duke of *Neuburg* protested against that Treaty, and it was never put in Execution.

John Sigismund had the Administration of *Prussia*, during the Madness of Duke *Albert* his Father-in-law, in like manner as *Joachim Frederic* had had. The Elector received also of *Sigismund III.* King of *Poland*, the Investiture of *Prussia* for him and his Descendants; this was the third Investiture, which had been given to the Electoral House.

As *Prussia* was re-united to the House of *Brandenburg* by *John Sigismund*, it is not

improper to give in few Words an Idea of what that Country was originally, of its Government, and how it passed to Duke *Albert*, Father-in-law of the Elector.

The Name of *Prussia*, of which is made *Prusse*, signifies *near Russe*; the *Russe* is a Branch of the River of *Nimen*, which is now named *Memel*. *Prussia* was inhabited originally by *Bobemians*, *Sarmates*, *Russians* and *Veneds*: These People were plunged in the grossest Idolatry, they worshipped the Gods of Forests, of Lakes, and of Rivers; and even Serpents and Elks. Their rustic and savage Devotion was unacquainted with the Sumptuousness of Temples. Their principal Idols *Potrimpos*, *Percunos*, and *Picolos*, had their Cult established under Oaks, where they were placed at *Ramowa* (*Romove*) and at *Heiligenbeil*. The *Prussians* sacrificed to their false Gods even their Enemies Prisoners. St. *Adelbert* was the first that preached Christianity to these People^{*}, and he received there the Crown of Martyrdom. According to *Crispus*, three Kings of *Poland*, all three named *Boleslaus*, made War upon the *Prussians* to convert them; but these People becoming skilful in War, ravaged *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*. *Conrad* Duke of *Cujavia* called to his Succour the Teutonic Knights of *Germany*; *Her-*

* About
the Year
1000.

! In 1239. *man* of *Saltza* was then 'Great-Master; he entered *Prussia*, and founded by the Aid of the *Livonian* Knights (who were a kind of Templars) the four Bishopricks of *Culm*, *Pomesan*, *Ermeland*, and *Samland*. The War which the Order made upon the *Prussians*, lasted

lasted 53 Years. The Knights maintained afterwards Wars, sometimes against *Poland*, and sometimes against the Dukes of *Pomerania*, who were jealous of their Establishment. From that Time the Families of the Knights began to settle themselves in *Prussia*; and it is from them, in great Part, that the Nobility which adorns it at this Day, descends.

Under the Great-Master *Conrad d'Erlichhausen* " the Cities of *Dantzic*, *Thoren* and " *In 1450.* *Elbing* declared to him, that being tired of obeying him, they had given themselves to *Casimir* Son of *Jagelon* King of *Poland*. The War between the Knights and the *Poles*, for *Prussia*, lasted 13 Years; the victorious *Poles* gave the Law. *Prussia* on the hither Side of the *Vistula* was annexed to that Kingdom, and was called *Royal-Prussia*. The Order kept the *Further-Prussia*, but was obliged to yield Homage to the Conquerors.

In 1510, *Albert* of *Brandenburg* was elected Great-Master by the Order. He was the great Grandson of *Albert* the *Achilles*, as hath been said above. The new Great-Master, to revenge the Honour of the Order, undertook a new War against the *Poles*, which ended very happily for him, since he was created Duke of *Prussia* by *Sigismund* I. King of *Poland*, who rendered that Dignity hereditary to this Prince and his Descendants. *Albert* obliged himself only, in Requital, to yield Homage to *Poland*.

Duke *Albert*, Master of the *Further-Prussia*, quitted then the Habit, the Cross and the Arms of the *Teutonic* Order; the Knights behaved as the Weakest do, they contented themselves

themselves with protesting against that which they were not able to hinder. The new Duke ^{in 1563.} had a War to maintain ⁱⁿ against *Eric* Duke of *Brunswick* and Commander of *Memel*. *Eric* entered *Prussia* at the Head of 12000 Men, but *Albert* put a Stop to him on the Banks of the *Vistula*. As nothing passed there remarkable, and the two Sides of the River were covered with Soldiers, who gathered Nuts, this Expedition was called the ^{in 1519.} *War of Nuts*. *Albert* became a Protestant ^x, and *Prussia* imitated his Example; his Son *Frederic Albert* succeeded him in 1568. He received the Investiture of King *Sigismund Augustus*, in which assisted the Envoy of the Elector *Joachim II*. It is this *Albert Frederic*, who married *Mary Eleonora*, Daughter of *John William*, and Sister of the last Duke of *Cleves*. *John Sigismund* was Son-in-Law and Guardian of this Duke of *Prussia*. The Death of his Father-in-Law made him enter entirely in Possession of that Dutchy in the Year 1618. *John Sigismund* had received the Reformed Religion in the Year 1614, to please the People of the Country of *Cleves*, who were to become his Subjects. The Emperor *Rudolphus II*. died during the Regency of the Elector. The Electoral College chose in his Place *Mathias*, Brother of the Deceased. The Elector feeling the Approaches of Age, and seeing himself oppressed by Infirmities, gave up the Regency to his Son *George William*, and died a little while after.

GEORGE

GEORGE WILLIAM.

GEORGE WILLIAM came to the Electorate in 1619. His Reign was the most unhappy of all. The States of this weak Prince were desolated during the Course of the War of 30 Years, which left Tracks in *Germany*, which we still discover in the Time, in which I write. All the Scourges which can afflict a Country, fell upon the Electorate of *Brandenburg*. A Sovereign incapable to govern, a Minister, Traitor to the Country; a War, or rather a general Ran sack and Overthrow, an Inundation of Armies, Friends and Enemies, barbarous, pillaging, and cruel equally, who tossing up and down like the Waves of the Sea, swallowed up, by their Flux and Reflux, these Provinces, and did not retire, till after having laid all waste, and brought Desolation to its highest Pitch.

That Fatality, which seemed to persecute the Elector, extended itself over all his Relations. *George William* had married the Daughter of *Frederic IV.* Elector Palatine, and Sister of the unfortunate *Frederic V.* King of *Bohemia*, beaten at *Weissenberg* †, despoiled of the Palatinate, and put to the Ban of the Empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand II.* confiscated the Dutchy of *Iägerndorff*, because the Duke had taken the Part of *Frederic V.* This Duke was Uncle of *George William*. The Emperor gave this Dutchy to the Princes of *Litchtenstein*, who are still actually in Possession. The Elector protested

as much as he pleased, without any Regard being shewn to it: His Uncle the Administrator of *Magdeburg* was dispossessed and put to the Ban of the Empire, for being entered in the League of *Lauenburg*, and for being allied with the King of *Denmark*. The Emperor was then almost despotic.

^a in 1621. The Truce, which *Spain*^a and *Holland* had concluded for 12 Years, came to expire. The Theatre of the War fixed in the Countries of the Succession of *Cleves*. The *Spaniards* forced the Garrison of *Juliers*, which the *Hollanders* held for the Elector; *Cleves* and *Lipstadt* surrendered to *Spinola*. The *Hollanders* indeed drove out again some Years

^a in 1621. after^a the *Spaniards* of the Country of *Cleves*, and retook some Cities for the Elector; *George William* and the Duke of *Neuburg*

^b in 1630. obtained of the *Spaniards*^b that they should evacuate in some Manner the Countries of the Succession; the *Hollanders* put Garrisons in the Places of the Elector, and the *Spaniards* in those of the Duke. That Composition did not subsist long, and the War began

^c in 1635. again^c in those Provinces with more Force than before. I shall content myself with saying, that during all the Reign of the Elector, the Countries of *Cleves* were a Prey to the *Spaniards* and to the *Hollanders*, who laid hold of Posts, surprized Cities, gained sometimes Advantages one upon the other, and lost them in like Manner, but in which there passed nothing considerable. The Exactions of Officers, and the Robberies of Soldiers,

Soldiers, made in those Times the greatest Part of the Art Military.

Although the Emperor affected a Sovereignty independent in the Empire, the Princes did not cease to oppose to his Despotism, a Steadiness, which sometimes put a Stop to him, and Leagues which gave Alarm at *Vienna*. The Electors of *Brandenburg* and of *Saxony* interceded with the Emperor for their Collegue the Elector Palatine, and refused to acknowledge the Elector *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, whom *Ferdinand II.* had raised to that Dignity, to the Prejudice of the Palatine House, and against the Laws of the Empire; for according to the Golden Bull, which is a fundamental Law, an Elector cannot be put to the Ban of the Empire, nor degraded, without the unanimous Consent of the Diet assembled in a Body. The Intercessions of those Electors produced no Effect.

The Progress of the Reformation, which in dividing *Germany*, had given Birth to two powerful Parties, occasioned at length the War. The Protestant Princes, to maintain the free Exercise of their Religion, had confederated together at *Lauenburg*. In that Alliance entered *Christian IV.* King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, of *Holstein*, of *Mecklenburg*, and *Christian William*, Administrator of *Magdeburg*. The Emperor took Umbrage, and sent his General *Tilly* at the Head of 12000 Men in^d in 1625. the Circle of the *Lower-Saxony*. *Tilly* presented himself before *Halle*, and though the City surrendered without Resistance, he gave

it up to Pillage. *Wallenstein* approached, with another Body of 12000 Men, the Countries of *Halberstadt*. The States of the *Lower-Saxony* demanded an Accommodation of the Emperor, but these Proposals did not hinder *Wallenstein* and *Tilly*, to invade the Countries of *Magdeburg* and of *Halberstadt*. The Administrator of *Magdeburg*, *Christian*

* The Em- *William*, was deposed *. The Chapter chose
peror had in his Place, and gave its Nomination of
the Design Coadjutor, to the Son of the Elector of *Sax-*
to give ony, named *Augustus*, and the Administrator
that Bene- joined his Troops to those, which the King
fice to his of *Denmark* had in the *Lower-Saxony*. *Chris-*
Son. *tian William*, and *Mansfeldt*, who com-

manded that Army, were beaten by *Wallenstein*, whom they attacked at the Bridge of *Dessau*; they saved themselves after their Defeat in the *Marek* of *Brandenburg*, which they pillaged. *Tilly* beat at *Lauter* another Body of Troops, which the King of *Denmark* had in the *Lower-Saxony*. The Neighbourhood and the Victories of the Imperialists, obliged *George William* to acknowledge the Elector *Maximilian* of *Bavaria* as the Emperor would have it.

The King of *Denmark*, who recovered of his Defeats, appeared again the Year following
in 1626. with two Armies, of which he commanded one, and the Administrator the other, but he did not dare to face *Tilly*, who had put Garrisons in *Brandenburg*, *Ratenau*, *Havelberg* and *Perleberg*.

Mansfeldt, who had reassembled the broken Remains of his Army, dared to enter the

the Country of *Brandenburg* against the Will of the Elector. The Imperialists detached against him 7000 Men, to whom *George William* joined 800 Soldiers under the Command of Colonel *Craght*, which passed the *Werth*, and disperfed the fugitive Troops of *Mansfeldt*. One fees by this weak Succour, that the Elector had scarce any Troops on Foot.

The *Imperialists* profiting of their Advantage, put Garrisons in all *Pomerania* under Pretence of covering *Germany*, against the Enterprizes of the *Suedes*, but at the Bottom perhaps, because that *Bogislaus*, the last Duke of *Pamerania*, let after his Death the Succession fall to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who had the Expectancy. *Wallenstein* besieged the City of *Stalsund*, and raised it after having lost 12000 Men. *Stalsund* made Alliance with the King of *Sueden*, and received a *Suedish* Garrison of 9000 Men.

The Emperor published about this Time his famous Edict of Restitution, which enjoined the Protestant Princes, to restore to the Church the Estates, which the Reformation had put them in Possession of, since the Transaction of *Passau*. The Protestant Princes would have suffered thereby considerable Losses. The House of *Brandenburg* lost by it the Bishopricks of *Brandenburg*, of *Havelberg* and of *Lebus*. This was the Signal, which armed anew the Protestants and the Catholics. *Ferdinand II.* wanted to fish in troubled Water. He aimed at appropriating to himself the Arch-Bishoprick of *Magdeburg*; but after 28 Weeks, that *Wallenstein* had

passed before that City, he was obliged to raise the Siege.

The Elector had taken the Investiture of *Prussia* in Person at *Warsaw*, in the Year 1626. A new War sprung up in those Parts, *Sigismund III.* King of *Poland* formed Pretensions against the Kingdom of *Sueden*, which *Gustavus Adolphus* then governed. *Gustavus Adolphus* prevented his Enemy, he passed ^{in 1628.} into *Prussia*, took the Fort of *Pillau*, and made great Progress in *Livonia* and in *Polish* ^{in 1629.} *Prussia*. That Prince being at *Dantzic* made a Truce of 6 Years with the *Poles*, in which the Elector was comprized, and which was prolonged to 26 Years.

The King of *Sueden* had the Design to enter *Germany* and to take Advantage of the Troubles, that encreased by the Edict of Restitution, which the Emperor had caused to be published. *Gustavus* produced a Kind of Manifesto, which gave a List of the Grievances, which he had against the Emperor. These Subjects of Complaint consisted in this, that the Emperor had assisted the King of *Poland* with 10,000 Men; that he had deposed the Duke of *Mecklenburg* his Ally; that he had refused to admit a *Suedish* Minister at the Treaty of *Lubeck*, and that he had used Injustice against the City of *Stralsund*, with which he was in Alliance. After that Declaration all the Ports of *Pomerania* were blocked up by the *Suedish* Fleet. If we consider well these Reasons, we shall not find them at all more reasonable, than these which *Charles II.* King of *England* urged for
declaring

declaring War upon the *Dutch*. One of the principal Grievances of the *Engliſh* turned upon this; that *Messieurs de Witt* had a scandalous Picture in their Houses¹. Should such ^{*This Picture re-presented, it is said, a Sea Fight, which the*} like Subjects become the Origin of the Ruin of Provinces, and Mankind lavish their Lives, and spill their Blood to satisfy the Fancies and the whimsical Caprices of one Man?

It was in the Year 1630, that all the ^{*Dutch had gained upon the Engliſh.*} Mi-series which before threatened the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, broke out, and that the Storms, which grumbled in the Neighbourhood, all joined together to fall upon this Country. *Wallenstein*, who had fixed himself there, drew exorbitant Contributions, and it is not to be comprehended, by what Right, and by what Reasons the Imperialists treated with so much Harshness a Country in Amity with them, whose Prince was attached to the Emperor. One may judge of the Situation the Elector *George William* was in, by the Answer which he gave to *Ferdinand II.* who invited him to repair to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. He says in it: "The exhausted Condition of the *Marck* puts it out of my Power to provide for my ordinary Expences, and much more for those of such a Journey." The Regiments of *Pappenheim* and of *St. Julian*, had their Quarters in the *Middle-Marck*, and they drew in 16 Months 300,000 Crowns. The Mark of Silver was then at 9 Crowns, now at 12. Thus this Sum in our Days would make 400,000 Crowns. It is pretended, that *Wallenstein* drew from the whole Electorate the Sum of 20,000,000 of *Florins*, which

which would make at this Day 17,777,777 Crowns. This Calculation appears to me excessive, and I believe, we may abate two Thirds without being deceived.

Gustavus Adolphus entered *Germany* at the Time of these Proceedings; he made a Descent at the Isle of *Rugen*, and dislodged the *Imperialists*, by the Aid of the strong Garrison, which he had at *Stralsund*. At the Approach of the *Suedes*, the Emperor caused it to be signified to the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, that they must furnish Provisions and Ammunition for his Troops, in consideration of which he would moderate in their Favour, the Edict of Restitution. Whilst the Diet was held at *Ratisbon*, *Gustavus Adolphus* seized upon *Pomerania*, he put a Garrison in *Stettin*, and drove out of that Dutchy *Torcoato Conti*, who commanded the *Imperialists*.

This King made a Treaty with the Duke of *Pomerania*, in which it was stipulated, that if after his Death any one disputed his Succession with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, or that *Sueden* should not be entirely indemnify'd of the Charges of the War, that Province should remain in Sequestration in the Hands of the King. The *Imperialists* driven out of *Pomerania* by the *Suedes*, retired in the *New-Marck*, and assembled themselves on the Side of *Frankfort* on the *Oder*.

At the Approach of the *Suedes*, the Elector caused some Works of Earth to be raised in Hastie before the Gates of *Berlin*, he caused some

some Cannon to be placed there, and obliged the Burgers to mount Guard, which evidently shews, that he had no kind of Military Forces.

The City of *Magdeburg* allied itself with the *Suedes*, and promised them the Passage of their Bridge on the *Elbe*. The Troops of that City drove the *Imperialists* out of their Country, but *Tilly* returned with his Army, subdued the whole Country, and made the so famous Blockade of that City.

The Protestants held an Assembly at *Leipzig*^k, where they deliberated upon their In-^k in 1631, terests. The Elector of *Brandenburg* and of *Saxony* resolved there to keep steadily attached to the Emperor, and to assemble their Arrièr-Ban, to oppose the *Suedes*.

Nevertheless *Gustavus Adolphus* traversed the *Marck*, to run to the Succour of *Mecklenburg*. That Prince, as politick as brave, made his Troops observe an exact Discipline in their March. He studied to gain the Protestants over to his Interests, publishing every where, that he had entered *Germany* only to save the Princes from the Yoke, which the Emperor would impose upon them, and to defend the Liberties of their Religion. *Gustavus Adolphus* then made an Alliance with *Lewis XIII.* King of *France*, who had with him the same Interest in the Humiliation of the Emperor. This Treaty was concluded at *Berwald*.

Tilly leaving *Magdeburg* blocked, joined the *Imperialists* at *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and traversed the *Marck* to attack the *Suedes*, who made a Progress in *Mecklenburg*; but the

Fortune

Fortune of *Gustavus Adolphus* had a considerable Ascendant over that of the Imperial General. The King of *Sueden* marched from *Mecklenburg* to *Schwedt*, there passed the *Oder*, and laid Siege to *Franckfort*, which 7000 *Imperialists* defended ; he forces them, lays hold of a numerous Artillery, which was kept there ; takes *Landsberg* and *Crossen*, then turns on a sudden towards *Berlin*, to relieve *Magdeburg*, which *Tilly* besieged in Person.

When *Gustavus Adolphus* arrived at *Cöpenick*, he desired the Elector to give up to him the Fortresses of *Spandau* and *Custrin*, to assure his Retreat, in Case any Ill-accident should happen to him. The Elector surprized at such an extraordinary Demand, and which he did not relish, could take no Resolution upon it. An Interview was proposed between these two Princes. The Elector went a Quarter of a Mile (*German Mile*) from *Berlin* to meet the King ; the Interview was in a little Wood ; he found there *Gustavus Adolphus*, escorted by a thousand Foot and 4 Cannon. This King repeated to *George William* the same Proposals which he had made him before ; the Elector not being able to determine himself in this great Perplexity, desired half an Hour to consult with his Ministers, and he consulted with them at a Distance. The *Suedish* Monarch mean while entertained himself with the Princesses and Ladies of the Court ; but as the Elector had concluded nothing after these Deliberations, he invited the King to go to *Berlin*. *Gustavus Adolphus* went thither with his strange Escort ;

Escort ; 200 *Suedes* mounted Guard at the Castle of *Berlin*. The other Troops were quartered upon the Burghers. The next Day the whole *Suedish* Army came to encamp around this Capital, and the Elector, who was no more Master of his own Residence, submitted to every Thing the King of *Sueden* required. The *Suedish* Garrisons of the Fortresses of *Spandau* and of *Custrin* took the Oath of Fidelity to the Elector, and the King of *Sueden* promised to give up again these Places to the Troops of *Brandenburg*, when the Necessity he had for them should cease. *Gustavus Adolphus* advanced beyond *Potzdam*. The Imperial Troops that held *Brandenburg* and *Ratenau*, retreated at his Approach, and marched back towards their Army that besieged *Magdeburg*. The King demanded of the Elector of *Saxony* a Passage over the *Elbe* at the Bridge of *Wittenberg*, but it was refused him ; and it was this that hindered him to relieve *Magdeburg*.

This City, which *Tilly* and *Pappenheim* had not been able to take by Force, yielded at last to Stratagem. The *Imperialists* set on Foot a Negotiation with the City of *Magdeburg*, by the Interposition of the Hans-Towns, and offered advantageous Conditions. They affected during these Conferences, not to fire upon the City ; the *Magdeburgers* relied on it, their Vigilance fell asleep in this faint Security, great Part of the Burghers, who had been the Night on Guard upon the Ramparts, retired towards Morning. *Pappenheim*, who had advanced his Attacks to the Counterscarp

of the Ditch, perceived and took Advantage of it. He caused four Assaults to be made at the same Time, and made himself Master of the Ramparts without much Resistance. The *Cravats* marched along the *Elbe*, which was then low, and in passing the River, took the Works on the other Side. The Garrison and Burghers assembled in Haste at this Alarm in the publick Places, but *Tilly*, Master of the Cannon of the Ramparts, caused them to be levelled in such a manner, that they passed through the Streets; the Number of the *Imperialists* encreased at the same Time, and the Resistance of the Inhabitants became vain. The City, which was one of the most flourishing of *Germany*, was miserably given up to Pillage; the Ransack of *Magdeburg* lasted three Days.

All that the most unbridled Licence can invent, when Men abandon themselves to their Fury; all that Crimes and Villainies can ingender most abominable, was committed by these Soldiers, who had been let loose to their barbarous Cruelty. This authorized Robbery, made almost all the Inhabitants perish by the Sword; 1400, who had remained shut up in the Church of the *Dome*, and to whom *Tilly* gave Quarter, saved themselves. To Pillage and Massacre succeeded Burnings. The Flames sprung up on all Sides, and in few Hours the Houses of the Burghers and the publick Edifices formed but one Heap of Ashes and of Ruins, like to those of *Troy*. Scarce were a hundred and forty Houses saved. It is related, that 1200 Maidens drowned themselves

themselves in the *Elbe*, to preserve their Charity from the Risks, to which the Violence of the Conquerors would have exposed it. These Examples are fine, but they are rare, and if they appear to us fabulous, it is either from the Corruption of our Manners, or because that the Fact is not ascertained.

After the taking of *Magdeburg*, *Gustavus Adolphus* came for the second Time to encamp near *Berlin*; he was irritated at having missed his Aim, and threw the Fault upon the Electors of *Brandenburg* and of *Saxony*. The King caused the Artillery of his Army to be pointed against the City, and demanded at the same Time a Passage for his Troops. *George William* sent the Electress, and all the Princesses of his Court to the *Suedish* Camp, to appease that Monarch, and followed them near. He granted, as may be believed, all that the King demanded of him. When the Elector returned, the King ordered him to be saluted by the Discharge of the Cannon. They forgot, to turn them back towards the Country, and a great many Houses and Roofs were damaged and pierced by the Cannon-Ball. This Civility was a little *Gothick* and *Herculean*. The next Day the Army defiled through the City, and passed the *Sprée*.

The Elector excused his Conduct to the Emperor upon the Violence of a foreign Prince, to which he was not in a Condition to resist. *Ferdinand* answered dryly, that the *Suedish* Troops would not any more respect the *Marcks* than the *Imperialists* had done. The Elector of *Saxony*, who saw the *Suedish*

Arms prosper, joined himself on the Side of Fortune, and he gave the Example to all the Protestant Princes. The *Suedes* restored *Spandau* and *Gustrin* to the Elector, and they over-ran all the *Lower-Saxony*; they entered in the *Old-Marck*, and the King took the Camp of *Würben* (*Werben*) the strongest that was there by its Situation at the Confluence of the *Havel* and the *Elbe*. *Tilly* fearing for *Pappenheim*, who had been obliged to shut himself up in *Magdeburg*, quitted *Thuringia*, and came to his Succour; he advanced towards the *Suedish* Camp. The good Genius of this Prince, that favoured all his Enterprizes, made him form the Design to surprize a Van-Guard of three Regiments, which the *Austrian* General had advanced too forward; he surprized them, cut them in Pieces, and returned to his Camp at *Würben* (*Werben*).

Tilly, who hoped to wipe off this Disgrace, tried to attack the *Suedes* in their Camp, but the Situation of it appeared to him so strong, and the Dispositions so good, that he did not dare to run the Risk; the Want of Provisions obliged him to retreat, he marched to *Halle* with the Design to force *Leipzig*, and to oblige the Elector of *Saxony* to renounce the Engagements, which he had with the *Suedes*. *Gustavus Adolpbus* sees through his Design, quits his Camp at *Würben* (*Werben*), passes the *Elbe* at *Wittenberg*, joins the *Saxons* at *Düben*, and falls upon the *Imperialists*, whom he totally defeats near *Leipzig*. Among the numerous Artillery which the King took at that Battle, there were many Pieces with the

the Arms of *Brandenburg*, of *Saxony*, and of *Brunswick*, which the *Imperialists* had appropriated to themselves by Right of Convenience. *Tilly* after having lost 6000 Men upon the Spot, was obliged to fly, and re-assembled in *Thüringia* the shattered Remains of this Defeat. We shall not follow the *Suedes* in the Course of their Triumphs. It is sufficient to say, that *Gustavus Adolphus* became the Arbiter of *Germany*, penetrating there as far as the *Danube*; whilst that *Bannier* with another Body of Troops subdued the flat Country around *Magdeburg*, where the *Imperialists* still kept a strong Garrison. The *Suedes*, who were Masters, established a Regency in the Countries of *Magdeburg* and of *Halberstadt*.

At the Beginning of the Year 1632, died *Sigismund* King of *Poland*. *Uladislaus* was chosen to fill that vacant Throne. The *Suedes*, who did not fall asleep upon their Laurels, came again to besiege *Magdeburg*. *Pappenheim*, who was in the Dutchy of *Brunswick*, hastened to the Succour of the *Imperialists*; *Bannier* raised the Siege at his Approach. But the Duke of *Lunenbourg*, who was in the Alliance of *Leipzig*, came with a fine Army to join the *Suedes*; *Pappenheim* being too weak to resist so many Forces, evacuated the City of *Magdeburg*, abandoned the flat Country, and retreated into *Westphalia*, and into *Franconia*, whither the War followed him. The *Suedes* entered *Magdeburg*; what remained of the ancient Inhabitants began to repair the Ruins of their Country, and to re-establish their Dwellings. The

The Emperor, whom the ill Success of his Arms rendered more gentle, employed an insinuating Language, to detach the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg* from the *Suedish* Party, but he was not able to succeed in it. *George William* even sent some weak Succour to the *Saxons*, who pursued in *Silesia* a Body of *Imperialists*, commanded by *Balthasar de Maradas*. The Emperor, irritated by the Irruption of *Silesia*, and desirous to resent the Refusal, which he had just received on the Part of those Electors, sent *Wallenstein* at the Head of an Army to seize upon those two Electorates. *Pappenheim* quitted *Westphalia* to join *Wallenstein*, and taking Advantage of the Absence of the King of *Sueden*, who was then in *Bavaria*, they took *Leipzig*, *Naumburg*, *Merseburg*, *Halle* and *Gibichenstein*. The *Lower-Saxony* would have been wasted a-new, had not the King of *Sueden* hastened to their Succour. He arrives, dies, and gains, in fighting, the famous Battle of *Lützen*. The *Suedes*, Conquerors, thought they were beaten, not having any longer their Hero at their Head; and the *Imperialists*, conquered, thought themselves victorious, not having any longer *Gustavus Adolphus* for Adversary. After the Death of *Turenne*, the *French* Army drew back, and re-passed the *Rhine*; after the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus* the *Suedes* drove the *Imperialists* out of the *Lower-Saxony*; and all the Cities, which *Wallenstein* had taken, were re-taken by the Elector of *Saxony*. *Oxenstiern* had after this the Direction of the Affairs of *Germany*: The *Suedes*

Suedes concluded an Alliance at *Heilbrun* with the Circles of *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Upper* and *Lower-Rhine*.

Although the Elector was not of the Alliance of *Heilbrun*, he made nevertheless some Efforts for the common Cause, and he sent some Succour to *Arnheim*, who commanded in *Silesia* the Troops of *Saxony*. All the Troops of the Elector consisted then in 3000 Horse and 5000 Foot. At the Approach of *Wallenstein* and of *Gallas*, he got together a kind of Arrier-Ban, or rather the general Armament of all his Subjects.

Wallenstein enters *Silesia* at the Head of an Army of 45000 Men; he amuses *Arnheim* by feigned Proposals of Accommodation. His Demonstrations threaten *Saxony*; *Arnheim* is the Dupe, and whilst he covers the Electorate, the Imperial General turns unexpectedly towards the Bridge of *Steinau*, defeats there 800 *Suedes*, re-takes *Frankfort*, and sends Parties, who lay waste *Pomerania* and the *Marck*. He summons *Berlin* to bring him the Keys, but learns at the same Time, that *Bernhard* of *Weimar* has taken *Ratisbon*, and that 9000 *Saxons* and *Brandenburgers* advance, and he gives up all his Projects. *Arnheim* and *Bannier* covered *Berlin*, and *Wallenstein* retired into *Silesia*, leaving a strong Garrison in *Frankfort* and in some other Cities.

Oxenstiern, who had found his Advantage in the Alliance, he had made at *Heilbrun* with the four Circles, proposed ^m a like to the ^m in 1634. Circles of *Upper* and of *Lower-Saxony*. It was

was concluded at *Halberstadt*, and the Electors of *Brandenburg* and of *Saxony*, were the principal Members. This *Suedish* Minister took off the Mask at the Assembly of *Frankfort* on the *Main*, where he proposed to the States without any Disguise, to yield *Pomerania* to *Sueden* after the Death of the last Duke, in the Shape of Indemnification of the Expences which that Power, had made in Favour of the Protestant Princes. The Elector of *Brandenburg* was enraged at this Proposal. It was precipitate, and *Oxenstiern* ought not to have made it, but when Conjectures should have been favourable enough for him, to dare to strike openly at the Pretensions of *George William*, without committing the Interests of *Sueden*. Mean while the Elector, assisted by the *Suedish* Troops, found himself at the Head of an Army of 20,000 Men, of which scarce the sixth Part belonged to him. See here the Names of the *Brandenburg* Regiments, that were there; *Borsdorff*, *Wolckmann*, *Francis Lauenburg*, *Conrad Borsdorff*, and *Ebrenreich Borgsdorff*. He took *Frankfort* (on the *Oder*) the Garrison of which consisting in 1000 Men, marched out by Capitulation. The Imperial Garrison of *Crossen* marched out with a white Stick in the Hand; but these small Successes were sufficiently counterpoised by the News that came, that the Archduke *Ferdinand* and the Cardinal *Infant* had gained a complete Victory over the *Suedes* at *Nörtlingen*. The Elector of *Saxony* could not digest, that *Oxenstiern*, to his Prejudice, had the Direction

tion of the Affairs of *Germany*, and the Proposition which *Oxenstiern* had made at the Assembly of *Frankfort*, went to the Heart of *George William*.

These pacifick Dispositions were soon followed by their Effects; the Emperor, who wished to disunite *Germany*, leagued against him, laid hold with Eagerness of this Opportunity, and the Peace was concluded at *Prague* the 20th of *March* in the Year 1635. The Conditions were, that the second Son of the Elector of *Saxony* should remain Administrator of *Magdeburg*, and that the four Bailiwicks ⁿ dismembered from this Archbishopⁿ *Quer-
furt, Ju-
terbock,
Bock
(Burg) and
Damm.* ick should be left to *Saxony*. It was promised to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, that he should be maintained in his Rights upon *Pomerania*, and the Emperor engaged himself, no more to reclaim the Estates of the Church, which the Protestants possessed, and to confirm the Pacts of Confraternity between the Houses of *Brandenburg*, of *Saxony*, and of *Hesse*.

After this Peace, the *Saxon* and Imperial Troops cleared the Countries of *Halberstadt* and of *Magdeburg* of the *Suedes*, that infested them; none but the Capital sided with the *Suedes*. *Mecklenburg*, the *Old-Marck*, and *Pomerania*, felt again the Troubles of War; the *Suedes* made Incursions as far as *Oranienburg*, and the *Saxons* and *Imperialists* occupied all the Sides of the *Elbe*, and of the *Havel*.

Bannier, who took Measures to preserve *Pomerania* to the Crown of *Sueden*, assembled his Army at *Ratenau*, and marched by *Wittenberg* to *Halle*, to keep the War off from the Frontiers of *Pomerania*, and to relieve at the same Time the *Suedish* Garrison, which was streightened at *Magdeburg*. The Elector of *Saxony* hastened to *Misnia*, where he joined the *Imperialists*, commanded by *Morosini*; the War kept awhile on the Sides of the *Saale*; the *Saxons* however forced *Bannier* to retreat, and the *Imperialists* retook *Magdeburg*. *Bannier* marched into the Country of *Lüneburg*, and returned into the *Marck*. *Wrangel* joined him with a Reinforcement of 8000 Men; they surprized *Brandenburg* and forced *Ratenau*, where there was an Imperial Garrison. Thus this poor Electorate was a Prey to the first Comer, ransacked, pillaged, and laid waste, equally by the Enemy, and by those that took the Name of Friend. All the Cities that are along the *Havel*, were twice pillaged by the *Suedes*, and once by the *Imperialists*, in less than six Weeks. This Desolation was universal; the Country was not ruined, but it was entirely swallowed up.

The Misfortune of the *Marck* would have it, that, seeming as if on Purpose to perpetuate the War, Fortune never declared herself for one Side. The *Suedes* all at once regain the Superiority. *Bannier* obtains a Victory at *Witstock* over the *Imperialists* and the *Saxons*: The fugitive Troops never stop
till

till they get to *Leipzig*; the *Suedes* make a good Use of these Advantages, they overrun the *Marck* anew; *Wrangel* approaches *Berlin*; he puts there a Garrison of five Companies, and demands again of the Elector his Fortresses. *George William*, who was at *Peitz*, answers him, that he gives himself up to the Discretion of the *Suedes*; but that the *Imperialists* being Masters of his Places, he had not the Power to dispose of them. *Wrangel* took his Quarters in the *New-Marck*.

The Emperor *Ferdinand II.* the Tyrant and the Oppressor of *Germany*, died at length, ° and his Son *Ferdinand III.* who was al-^{° in 1637.} ready King of the *Romans*, succeeded him, as if this Throne had been hereditary. *Bolleslaus*, Duke of *Pomerania*, whose Family had enjoyed this Dutchy during 700 Years, ended his Life during these Troubles, and with him his House became extinct. The *Suedish* Armies, Masters of *Pomerania* and of the Electorate itself, hindered the Elector to make good his Rights; he contented himself with sending a Trumpet to the States of *Pomerania*, to order them to fall upon the *Suedes*. This singular Ambassy had no Effect, and I believe, that this is the only Example in History, where a Trumpet has been charged with a like Commission.

Nevertheless the *Imperialists* under the Command of *Hatzfeld* and *Morosini*, drove *Bannier* out of *Saxony*; they pursued him beyond *Schwedt*, and re-took *Landsberg*.

Klitzing, the Saxon General, scoured at the same Time the *Marck*, and the Sides of the *Havel*, from whence he drove the *Suedes*. The War, which shifted from Side to Side, was carried a-new into *Pomerania*; the *Imperialists* received a Succour of 3000 *Hungarians*. I believe they were the first of this Nation, that were employed out of their Country. *Pomerania* had the Fate of the *Marck*, exposed to the same Robberies, it was taken, re-taken, burned and ruined.

The *Suedes* received a Succour, which seemed to arrive only to eternize the War, with all the Horrors that attend it. They drive the *Imperialists* and *Saxons* again out of *Pomerania*, penetrate into the *Marck*, burn *Bernau*, beat 7000 Men of the Saxon Troops, which *Morofini* brought there, and force *Gallasb*, who commanded the *Imperialists*, to fly before them as far as *Bohemia*. Notwithstanding this Turn of the Tide, the Electors of *Brandenburg* and of *Saxony* continued attached to the Emperor.

1639. The *Suedes* also appeared again for the fourth Time at the Gates of *Berlin*; the *Brandenburgers* make them an unexpected Diversion, they fall from *Prussia* upon *Livonia* with 4000 Men, but neglecting to take Cities to make Establishments, they abandon their Conquests, and the Expedition comes to nothing. The *Suedes* make themselves Amends upon the *Marck* for what they had lost in *Livonia*; 400 Men evacuate *Berlin* at their Approach, they make themselves Masters

Masters of it, and surprize 1500 *Brandenburgers*, which *Borsdorff* commanded at *Bernau*. *Dewitz* takes the Road of *Silesia*, and *Bannier* ransacks anew *Saxony* and the Country of *Halberstadt*.

Axellille, who commanded at *Berlin*, ^{PP in 1640.} blocks *Spandau* closely, and *Custrin*, where the Elector had taken Refuge, slightly; the Ravages and Exactions of the *Suedes* were Things unheard of. The States of *Pomerania* were held, and the Elector sent Deputies thither. The Resolutions of these States were not favourable to the *Suedes*. The Envoys of the Elector too, at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, took the Places of the Dukes of *Wolgast* and *Stettin*. *George William* made a Journey into *Prussia*, to hold the States there at *Königsberg*, and to demand of them the Payment of some Subsidies in Arrear, but he died there the third of *December*, leaving to his Son *Frederic William* a desolated Country, no Resources, neither Troops nor Money.

We cannot, without offending the Laws of Equity, charge *George William* with all the Misfortunes that happened to him. Two capital Faults are remarked in his Conduct. One for not having raised an Army of 20,000 Men, which he could have maintained, and which would have enabled him to support his Rights to the Succession of *Cleves*, and which he might have employed still more usefully for the Defence of his Country; the other, for having put a Confidence without Reserve in his Minister the Count of *Schwartzzenberg*,

zenberg, who was sold to the Imperial Court, and whose ambitious Views went no less Length, than to make himself Master of the *Marck*. The Complication of whimsical Circumstances, in which this Prince found himself, left him nothing but the Choice of his Faults. He was under the Necessity of chusing between the *Imperialists* and the *Suedes*, which of whom he would have for Friend or for Master. The Edict of Restitution, the Views of the Imperial Court on *Magdeburg*, and the Liberty of Faith, should naturally have inspired in *George William* an Aversion for *Ferdinand II.* but in allying himself with the King of *Sueden*, whose Intention was to acquire *Pomerania*, he became the Instrument, in the Hands of his Enemy, that wrested from him the Succession. On one Side he rose up against the Rigour of the Emperor, and gave Ear to the insinuating Manners of the *Suedes*; and on the other, he was irritated at the Usurpations of the *Suedes*, and he courted the Support of the Court of *Vienna*. This Incertitude made him continually turn to the strongest Side; and the Fickleness of Fortune, which changed daily from the *Imperial* Army to the *Suedish*, and from the *Suedish* to the *Imperial*, did not give Time to his Allies to protect him.

The

The Answer of M. de MAUPERTUIS.*

THE History you have just now been reading to us, Sir, gives us to understand in its full Extent, the Advantage of living in the Age, we live in. What Contrast, when we think of the Times which you have just described to us, and compare them with ours! Would one have believed, that in the Space of an Age such Changes should happen? That Cities so often pillaged should have become Asylums so secure and so quiet? That instead of those Militia's of some thousands of Men, we should see these formidable Armies, which have just conquered great States, and changed the Face of *Europe*? That these Countries delivered over to Barbarousness and Ignorance, should be the Abode of Sciences, of Letters, and of Arts? That in this same Palace, where was seen a foreign Garrison, and all in Confusion and Trouble, the Muses should have found a peaceful Sanctuary?

When we call to our Mind those Days, when our Princes were seen to leave their Capital to go to appease *Gustavus*, or when we see them return thither amidst the Acclamations of

* The preceding Memoirs having been read by M. *Darget*, Privy Counsellor, in the General Assembly of the Academy *June 3, 1747*, in the Presence of Their Royal Highnesses, the Princes, Brothers of the King, and of the Princess *Amelia*, M. de *Maupertuis* put an End to the Assembly by this Answer.

of Triumph; that our Princes were seen in the Camp of the *Suedes*, or honouring our Assemblies with their Presence; such Changes will appear Fables, if we do not recollect, that *Frederic* reigns.

If the Recitals, which we have just heard, make us deplore the past Ages; the Manner in which they are written, does Honour to ours. We need but reflect one Moment upon the Miseries of those Times, and upon the Ignorance which then reigned; upon the Happiness which we enjoy, and upon the Progress of Arts and of Sciences, to see, that there is a necessary Relation between those Things. The same Spirit, which extends and perfects Knowledge, is that which renders People happy.

F I N I S.



The preceding Memoirs having been read by M. Dupleix, Deputy Comptroller in the General Assembly of the Academy, Jan. 1754, in the Presence of Their Royal Highnesses, the Princes, Brothers of the King, and of the Princes, M. de Mazarin, but as they did not relate to the Affairs of the Academy.

of Triumph; that our Princes were seen in
the Camp of the Guebers, or honouring our
Assemblies with their Presence; such Changes
will appear Fables, if we do not recollect
that Princes reign.

If the Keralak, which we have just heard,
makes us believe the Kings, the Princes
in which they are written, are Princes, in
ourselves. We must not be so ignorant as
on the Kings of those Princes, and upon the
ignorance which they are, even in
Happens which we know, and upon the
Pride of our own Kings, to be
that they are not Kings, but Princes.
Though the Kings of which we speak
and Princes of which we speak, are
not Princes.